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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the transition to military rule in Brazil (1964), Uruguay (1973), Chile (1973), and Argentina (1976) and examines the argument that the disciplines which lend themselves to analysis of the social order, such as the social sciences and humanities, are most often the target of political repression. Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile all had stable democracies for most of the 20th century, and each suffered an abrupt transition to brutal military rule. Brazil had a shorter tradition of democratic government when it fell to military rule in the 1960s. In each case the transition to military rule was followed by repression against academic freedom, including purging of university faculty and students, closing entire departments and universities, and at times the murder of students and faculty by the military. The social sciences suffer more than other disciplines under repressive regimes because they sensitize students to problems inherent in the existing social order. In order to determine if student enrollment in social sciences decreased under authoritarian regimes, data were analyzed for each of the countries. The results tended to support the contention that the social sciences suffer under dictatorships. (SM)

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DICTATORSHIPS AND REPRESSION AGAINST THE UNIVERSITIES:

the Transition to Miltary Rule in Latin America and the Impact on Enrollments in the Social Sciences

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Graduate Seminar Paper
Latin American Studies
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"politically oppressive environments are not conducive to the development of knowledge and the proper functioning of professors and universities. This is especially true in the case of dictatorships. These governments make the university community a special object of their attention which generally results in negative, if not disastrous, consequences for quality education" (Liebman, et al: 1972, 73).

Introduction

In this paper I will discuss the impact of the transition to military rule on universities in Latin America. I will focus on four countries which underwent a transition to military rule during the period from 1964 to 1976. These countries are Brazil (1964), Uruguay (1973), Chile (1973), and Argentina (1976). In each case the transition to military rule was followed by tremendous repression against academic freedom, including purging of university faculty and students, closing of entire departments and universities, and at times the murder of students and faculty by the military forces. I will attempt to outline possible causes of the repressive actions taken by the military, i.e. What do they find so threatening about students and teachers? I will also attempt to determine which disciplines suffer the most under a military dictatorship and why.

It has been hypothesized that the disciplines which lend themselves most readily to analysis and criticisms of the social order and hence the government, such as the social sciences and humanities, are most often the target of repressive policies by authoritarian governments (Balan: 1982, Liebman: 1972, Puryear: 1983, Edholm: 1982). In an effort to support this hypotheses, I will first examine the arguments behind such an hypotheses, including an analysis of each of the four countries which underwent a military coup. This will include a discussion of the nature of the politi-

cal events which led to the coup in each country, together with an assessment of the various policies which followed this transition to military rule.

I will conclude this paper with a review of the available statistical data on higher education enrollments by discipline. This will cover the period before and after the transfer from civilian to military rule in each country. In this way I hope to discover if any notable reductions can be found in the percentage of students enrolled in the social sciences in these years following a military coup. I will use as control cases, two countries which have experienced stable elected civilian governments over the same time period: Mexico and Costa Rica.

Dictatorship or Not?

In attempting to determine which countries might rightly be considered "democratic" versus "authoritarian", I will refer to the definition offered by Seymour Lipset in his Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics. Lipset gives two requirements for calling a country "democratic". First, a country must have a "political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing governing officials" (p. 27). Second, the country must have had a history of free elections for most of the period following World War II. Both of the control cases in this study, Mexico and Costa Rica can be said to have enjoyed democratic forms of government since at least the time of the second world war. In fact, three of the four experimental cases --Argentina, Uruguay and Chile-- had very stable democracies for most of the twentieth century. All four of the experimental countries have in common an abrupt transition to brutal military rule and the subsequent initiation of very repressive policies, including the dissolving of many governing legislative bodies, the replacing of elected

local officials with military authorities, murders, kidnappings and torture, and virulent attacks on academic freedom of expression.

Universities as Political Actors

Throughout history, universities have played an important role in shaping society. Not only have universities provided society with its leaders and trained professionals, but they have often been the principal instigators of change in the structure of society. Given that several university disciplines are concerned primarily with understanding society and social ills, it is not surprising that professors and students are often at the forefront of efforts to expand civil rights or social services. Universities have long been challengers of the status quo. This phenomenon, however, has been stronger felt in some regions of the world than in others.

While nearly all major countries in the world have experienced periods in their history when students were particularly active in influencing national policy, certain regions more than others, have had very consistent traditions of student political activism over time. This has been particularly true for Latin America. According to Martin Lipset, "of all national or regional student groups, the students of Latin America have been the most significant politically for the longest period of time" (Lipset: 1972, xxi).

Latin American University Students

In Latin American as early as the 1800's, students were very active in the efforts toward independence in their countries. Similarly, during the University Reform Movement in the 1930's, students were some of the key actors in initiating the process of university autonomy and self-governing

legislation. While Latin American students' political involvement has shifted back and forth from campus reform to national issues, their most consistent concern has been with the latter (Lipset: 1972, xxii).

The process of politicization of the students body in Latin America responds to certain features unique to the structure of education and of universities in the region. While students in North American universities usually have the option of taking courses from a variety of disciplines, students in Latin America tend to take all courses in their chosen discipline. The concept of General or Liberal Education is not common to Latin American. One of the most significant consequences of this phenomenon is the way in which faculty and students in certain fields, develop common ideological perspectives through prolonged contact and interactions around specific issues. With increased interaction and a common focus on a particular field of inquiry, common values develop (Liebman and others, p. 37).

Another factor specific to the Latin American case is the principle of University Autonomy found in many Latin American universities. In all six countries discussed in this study, the National Universities have traditionally been self-governing, autonomously run institutions. Rectors and department heads, as well as the university decision-making councils (analogous to our boards of regents) were elected by students, faculty and alumni and not by any branch of federal government. Most countries also provide constitutional guarantees that such autonomy will be respected, including specific prohibitions against the entrance of police or military on any university property (Liebman, et al, 86).

We will now turn to an examination of each of the four countries which underwent the transition to quite brutal forms of military dictatorship. As

we shall see, in all four cases of military coup discussed in this paper, university autonomy was either nullified directly by military intervention on the campuses, or specifically revoked by governmental decree, or both.

Chile

Chile, unlike many of its Latin American neighbors, developed a strong tradition of elected governments early on in its history. From about 1830 to 1973, Chile was governed by freely elected governments. Only between the years of 1924 and 1932, did the military seize power and each time the tenure was short lived (Valenzuela and Valenzuela: 1985, 212).

Following control of the government by the Radical Party in the 1940's, a moderate president, Carlos Ibanez, was elected in 1952. His presidency was met with a recession which forced him to implement strong austerity measures, a move which clearly hurt his popularity and divided the moderates into the left and right camps for the 1958 election. That year, the forces on the right won over the left by only 2.7 percentage points (Valenzuela and Valenzuela, 226). By the time of the 1964 elections, the U.S., recalling the close gap between the right and left during the previous elections, and, fearing another country turning socialist like Cuba, contributed extensively to the campaign of the moderate Christian Democrat candidate Eduardo Frei. He won, but turned out to be more radical then even many in his own party had expected.

President Frei instituted far reaching land reforms, organized the urban poor into unions and extended social services to the rural populations. These actions by Frei set the stage for the victory of the socialist government of Salvador Allende in 1970. By catering to and organizing the

poor Frei did three things. He mobilized them into a radical voting contingent, he pushed the center-right over to the far-right, and finally, he alienated the left by threatening their traditional power base among the poor. In short, he polarized the country to the left and right, but at the same time created a bigger left. Thus in 1970, Chileans elected their first self-declared Marxist government (Fischer: 1979, 53-55).

The events that led to the brutal military coup three years later, in which the presidential palace was bombed and Allende killed, are quite complicated. Internal and external factors can be cited. Allende increased wages, yet could not meet the supply demands of the new buyers. This caused inflation. Allende's nationalization of mines and tacit approval of peasant land invasions militarized factions of the right. The United States financed opposition organizations and payed wholesalers to stock products and create false shortages. With massive strikes in late 1972, Allende made what was perhaps a fatal mistake. He appointed military personal to some key government posts to quell the protests and in so doing, politicized the military. The military coup of September 11, 1973 had disastrous results for a country which had only really known democracy.

Coup in Chile

Once in power, General Pinochet dissolved the congress. Governors and mayors throughout the country were dismissed and replaced with military men within a week of the coup. Press, radio and television came under strict censorship. The universities were also hit. During Allende's term, the universities had become highly politicized into the left and right camps. The traditional process of university autonomy had taken on the flavor of intense political competition under Allende, as the elected positions on

the university governing boards became heated political contests. Immediately following the coup, one conservative Law Professor remarked hopefully,

> "I crave for order and discipline and authority. I'm sick of counsels and bureaucracy and confrontations. All I want is somebody on top who will make decisions, even if they are bad decisions" (Professor German Vidal, quoted in The New York Times, November 14, 1973).

Within three weeks his wish had come true.

Repression Against the Universities

In late September Pinochet called for the resignation of all university rectors (Los Angeles Times, September 30, 1973). By November, the dictator had installed military rectors. The impact on the universities was tremendous. As the New York Times reported in November "Leftist professors and students by the thousands have been swept off campuses. . . some universities and graduate departments, particularly in the social sciences, have been closed while the authorities sift out supposed left-wing extremists and Marxist courses" (Nov. 14). At the University of Concepcion, 6,000 of the 16,000 students and hundreds of faculty were suspended. At the State Technical University, 150 professors and over 300 students were expelled. The University of Chile in Santiago was closed following the dismissal of 144 faculty. The government's reason for the closure was "Marxist penetration of its social science and political science departments" (New York Times, Nov. 14, 1973).

Among the repressive measures undertaken by the military forces within the university was the creation of faculty "prosecutors" withing all departments. Most of these positions were filled by professors from the law school. Their responsibility was to receive written denunciations from other faculty or students about reported leftists in the university. Such

denunciations were often followed by expulsions (ibid).

In creating this position, the military wields a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the position offers an avenue for faculty to intervene in the military's purging process and perhaps spare a colleague who might otherwise be removed. In this sense their is an incentive for faculty to volunteer for the position. On the other hand the position essentially pits faculty against one another and limits the possibility that they might unite against the government's intervention in the universities. This is essentially a "divide and conquer" approach. According to a publication of the Latin American Studies Association, at least 2000 (22%) of the faculty, staff and students at the University of Chile in Santiago had been purged by 1975 (Puryear: 1983, 7).

While the process of purging was initially aimed at persons considered to be of "leftist" orientation, within the next few years, centrists, such as members of the Christian Democratic Party and even independent conservatives were targeted for expulsion. Anyone who might disagree with the government was eventually targeted. In terms of the disciplines, the hardest hit were sociology and political science in Santiago, and social anthropology in Concepcion (Berdichewsky: 1977, 44).

> "Funds and emphasis were shifted to technical and scientific areas, with the goal of steering students into practical and highly specialized programs rather than into training that might lead them to reflect critically upon their surroundings" (Puryear, p. 7).

Uruguay

Historical Antecedents

Like Chile, Uruguay fell into a military dictatorship the same year. Though the resulting repression shares much of the brutality of the

Chilean case, the events leading up the coup are quite different. Unlike Chileans, the Uruguayans were historically less politically mobilized and tended to vote along party lines election after election. By the 1950's, their long history of constitutionally elected presidents had helped them to achieve a standard of living better than some countries in the more developed regions of the world. Uruguay, like Chile ranked quite high as a model of diplomacy. By the early 1960's however, the inflation of the late 1950's led to an increasingly discontented youth, who sprang into violent political mobility by forming an urban guerrilla group called the Tupamaros. The elite ruling classes, though democratically elected, had engaged over the years in a fair amount of behind-the-scenes corruption whose revelation became a priority of the young radical Tupamaros. The elite classes were increasingly discredited, as the Tupamaros uncovered and made public, extensive evidence of the abuses of by the oligarchs (Taylor: 1985, 332).

While some of the more violent actions of the Tupamaros rarely (if ever) won public approval, they nevertheless revealed the incompetence of the government in maintaining the peace. As such, the public became embittered and a process of political "awakening" and greater political involvement took place among the masses. A polarization of elements of the left and right followed. Tupamaro attacks against the government of Jorge Pacheco in the late 1960's and against that of his successor, Juan Maria Bordaberry in the early 1970's, revealed to the military the incompetence of the political class (Taylor, 336).

In response to military pressure, president Bordaberry created a National Security Council (COSENA) in February of 1973 to advise him on

national security matters. Their "advice" of June of that year, was to dissolve the Congress. Bordaberry acquiesced, and in so doing, became more or less the puppet leader in what turned out to be the beginning of a brutal military-run regime.

Coup in Uruguay

Together with the dissolving of Congress came the abolition of the country's 19 municipal councils. In their place, a Council of State was created by appointees from the National Security Council. (New York Times, June 1, 1973). The nation's largest labor organization was dissolved and several political parties were outlawed. Attacks on the Universities soon followed.

Repression Against the Universities

On October 29, the government closed the only university, the National University of the Republic and announced the arrest of the rector and the deans of nine departments, together with at least 140 other people. The Institute of Social Research on the university campus was occupied and most of the faculty were forced to resign (Puryear, 5). The government issued a decree formally revoking the autonomy of the university which it claimed "was being used as a center of Marxist indoctrination and incitement to armed struggle." (New York Times, October 30). This was the end of a tradition of university autonomy which had remained intact since 1848.

The repression of the university in Uruguay led to an exodus of professionals from the country, comprising a number of the 400,000 Uruguayans who had emigrated to Argentina by November of the year following the coup (Taylor, 317).

Those who remained in Argentina to escape military rule in Uruguay,

would have to flee again in a few years, as Argentina eventually fell to a military dictatorship in March of 1976.

Argentina

Historical Antecedents

The political history of Argentina is very complex and unusual, particularly as regards the last forty years. Governments of the right have been deposed by the military (as in the case of Peron in 1955), and civilian rule has been initiated by military dictatorships (as in the case of the elections of Campora in 1973). Prior to the 1930's, Argentina's record of civilian governments extended back into the mid 1800's (Snow: 1984, 131). For most of the twentieth century, Argentina prided herself on being an open and democratic society and it seems that the military, up until the 1960's, maintained a good deal of confidence (perhaps tolerance) in the ability of civilians to rule the country. By the early 1970's this tolerance was waning, as the left and the right vied for power and control, and as power had shifted hands nine times, from civilian to military and back again in the twenty years from 1955 to 1975.

Part of this instability can be attributed to the unusual circumstances of the Juan Peron phenomenon. During his nine year rule prior to his exile from Argentina in 1955, he had achieved tremendous worker support, primarily through wage increases. Even though many of his policies hinted at an extremely conservative bent, he became a kind of hero cult-figure for much of the working class during his 18 years in exile. When he returned to power in 1973, his more oppressive character became readily apparent as right-wing terrorists groups sprang up (such as the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance). In the early 1970's the country had thus become something of a heated political arena, and following his death in 1974 and the

short unsuccessful rule of his wife, the military took over power in a coup in March of 1976.

Coup in Argentina

The repression of the Argentine junta during its years in power was tremendous. Through their aggressive nature however, they eventually signed their own death warrant. With the loss of the Malvinas (Falklands) War to Great Britian in 1983, the military government literally "fell" from power, ending seven years of one of the most brutal governments Latin America had ever seen.

Following the military coup of 1976, all provincial and municipal governors were dismissed and replaced with military personnel. The National Congress, elected in 1973 of 312 Senators and deputies, was dissolved and the five members of the Supreme Court were dismissed and replaced. Leaders of the twelve major unions were replaced, political parties were outlawed and the death penalty was re-instituted. All newspapers, radio stations and television networks were joined into a single censoring body under military control. All of these events took place within two weeks of the military coup (New York Times, April 4, 1976). Attacks against academic freedom were soon to follow.

Repression Against the Universities

In a statement issued by the Ministry of Education in August of 1976, at least 3000 academics, administrators and teaching assistants had been expelled from the universities since March for "fostering social disruption". A law was passed which prohibited any professor dismissed from the national university for political reasons, from teaching in the private sector (Puryear, 8). According to the new Minister of Education, General

Adel Vilas, "Until we can cleanse the teaching area, and professors are all of Christian thought and ideology, we will not achieve the triumph we seek in our struggle against the revolutionary left." (New York Times, August 5, 1976). In September, a document was leaked from the same Ministry of Education which discussed ways to abolish courses in psychology, sociology and anthropology (New York Times, Sept. 12, 1976). In general, the social sciences were the worst hit of the disciplines under attack in Argentina (Puryear, 8).

Brazil

Historical Antecedents

Brazil, unlike Chile, Uruguay or Argentina, had a much shorter tradition of democratic governance when it fell to military rule in the 1960's. The revolution of Getulio Vargas in 1930 overthrew the fairly authoritarian Old Republic government and instituted its own somewhat authoritarian, albeit popular, form of government. During his 15 years in power, Vargas brought the lower classes into the political system and paved the way for greater participatory government in the years to follow (Erickson: 1985, 177). In 1946, as promised, Vargas held elections in which he was not a candidate. Brazil experienced tremendous growth during the 1950's following the model set by Vargas of increasing the role of the State in social and economic activities.

Coup in Brazil

As Brazil's lower classes became mobilized (and radicalized), certain powerful interests perceived the possibility of the formation of a leftist or populist State. One of these powerful groups was the military who, perceiving just such a threat, seized power in 1964. Although the dictatorship was in power until the 1980's, the most repressive period began around

late 1968 and lasted for about two and a half years. It was during this period, from late 1968 until the early 1970's that extensive purging of the universities took place.

Repression Against the Universities

During the mid to late 1960's, the student union, though officially outlawed in 1964, was still very active in opposing the government. They enjoyed tremendous support up until 1968, at which time the military killed a number of students during nationwide street-demonstrations. It was at this time that the government initiated its systematic campaign of the torturing of dissidents (Levy: 1986, 189).

Invoking executive powers assumed following the coup of 1964, President Arthur Costa da Silva issued arrest warrants in 1968 for student leaders and began purging university faculty. In early May, the rector of Sao Paulo University and 70 professors were sent into involuntary retirement. Also dismissed were the chairmen of several departments. While no reasons were given for the dismissals, a spokesman for the faculty members said "our understanding is that we are assumed to be dangerous people to have in contact with students" (New York Times, May 6, 1969). According to students who met with U.S. Governor Nelson Rockefeller during a fact-finding mission there in June of 1969, "student leaders are all in jail or in hiding" (New York Times, June 19). Reports released in the summer of 1969, placed the numbers of student under arrest in the hundreds (ibid).

Social Sciences: The Target of Repression

As we have seen, a fairly uniform and consistent trait of repressive governments has been the iron-fist regulation of media and other forms of intellectual expression such as university teaching. It seems that

authoritarian governments conceive of universities as places where "technical, job-related skills are provided and where only certain cultural traditions are preserved and dispensed" (Puryear: 1983, 2). In Chile, for example, the new Military Rector of the State Technical University in Santiago remarked, "we are not trying to repress anyone for repression's sake. We are trying to apoliticize the universities, just as we are trying to apoliticize the country. All we are asking them to do is study" (New York Times, Nov. 14, 1973). The concept of the university as a place to investigate and discuss social issues is lost under repressive rule.

There are probably several reasons why social scientists might be viewed as a threat by conservative or "right-wing" governments. Social scientists (like academics in any discipline) are well-informed and articulate critics in their area of expertise. As such they are likely to be critical of the social and economic policies of any government, be it of the left or the right. Given that right-wing or military governments tend to be hierarchical and authoritarian, they probably fear dissent more than moderate governments because of the threat that it poses to their unbending authority.

Another issue involves the nature of the work of social scientists in general. One of the chief concerns of many of the social sciences is the analysis of how power, wealth and social goods are distributed to various sectors of society. In a society where such distribution is, for the most part, inequitable and as such the cause of many of the social ills from poverty to inflation, social scientists often become the leading critics of the status quo, turning to alternate systems and advocating political models which are oriented towards a more equitable distribution of power and wealth. Such is clearly the case in Latin America where wealth tends

to be maldistributed and where many of the socialists revolutionary movements are born in the universities (Chile, Cuba, Venezuela and El Salvador to name but a few).

Studies comparing students' political orientation with their field of study have tended to support the contention that certain disciplines might serve as reservoirs for the formation of leftist political ideology, thereby becoming the principal target of educational repression by authoritarian governments. In a study of students in six Latin American countries, Liebman (and others) found that students with a strong leftist political orientation --determined through political attitude surveys measuring such things as support for land reform legislation and for Castro's Cuba-- tended to be found in the disciplines of sociology, political science, economics and law (Liebman, 117). These fields themselves do not necessarily teach particular political ideologies but rather they "sensitize students to problems inherent in the existing social order and . . . suggest means by which these problems may be dealt with" (p. 117).

Enrollments in the Social Sciences: A Look at the Data

In an effort to determine whether the actions taken by military governments against academic freedom actually lead to changes in enrollment patterns, I have plotted in Table 1 the percentage of students enrolled in social science fields for a period of from six to eight years before and after the transition to military rule. Nearly complete data are available for three of the four experimental countries (Brazil, Argentina, and Chile) and for both of the control cases (Mexico and Costa Rica). The results tend to support the contention that the social sciences suffer under dictatorships.

Argentina (Plot A), shows an immediate drop at year Zero (the year of the coup) from 19 percent to just over one percent. For the next several years the total percentage remains under 3 percent. In Chile (Plot B), the percentage of students in the social sciences increases steadily for the six years before the coup from 6 to 15 percent. The year after the coup, the percentage drops to 12 percent, then drops eventually to under 2 percent within the next seven years. For Brazil (Plot C), the percentage drops three percentage points after year Zero (which in the case of Brazil has been calculated as 1968 at which time the president invoked the special powers assumed during the coup of 1964 and began extensive university purging). By 1974, the percentage had dropped to under 2 percent. Though it climbed again the following year to 9 percent, it remains consistently below half the average maintained during the years prior to 1968.

Plot D compares the averages for all three experimental countries with the data for Mexico and Costa Rica over the same time period. In order to generate comparable figures for the control countries, total values were obtained by averaging the separate values for total students in the social sciences in Mexico and Costa Rica for the six years before and after year Zero (and including year Zero) as they corresponded with the experimental cases. (For example, to generate a value for the control countries for year Zero, the values for Mexico and for Costa Rica for 1968, 1973 and 1976 were averaged together to produce the plot point "N" at year Zero). As we can see from Plot D, the control cases show considerably more stability than the experimental cases.

Whether any of these changes can be shown to be statistically significant, is as yet to be demonstrated. What the preliminary results suggest however, is that the repressive policies of military governments, against

academic institutions, may be disproportionately felt in the social sciences. In should also be pointed out that while the data appear fairly complete when one examines all the available sources (SALA, America en Cifras and the statistics of the United Nations and the ministries of statistics of the different countries), the method used to group disciplines varies from source to source, and an analysis of several other disciplines, for which data are available, becomes severely frustrated.

Conclusion

While it seems that the social sciences suffer perhaps more than other disciplines under authoritarian, military governments, the phenomenon of repressive legislation against the social science fields is not necessarily restricted to military dictatorships. Any government which is staunchly military would be less likely to finance social science research over military or technical fields research. In the United States, under the current Administration of Ronald Reagan, there have been a number of actions by the Reagan Administration which suggest an antipathy (if not a total disdain) for the social sciences. Foremost among such actions is the specific exclusion of social science research from the Tax Reform Act of 1981, a bill designed to encourage American businesses to invest more profits in educational research. Other actions include efforts to phase out the social science and education programs of the National Science Foundation, plans to eliminate the Department of Education, and cutbacks in funding for the National Institute of Mental Health, the principal agency which supports research in the behavioral sciences (Alexander Astin: personal communication, 1986).

While most of us are familiar with the stories of the kidnappings,

murders, disappearances and such, which occur under military governments, we are rarely aware of the many other systematic forms of repression which may be taking place within a country, and yet whose results may not be felt for many years to come. The reduction of trained specialists in the social and behavioral sciences for example, would likely have a prolonged effect on the level of a society's understanding of human interactions or social and political patterning. Without such understanding, how can a country, or the human race for that matter, be expected to overcome so many of the problems which confront the modern world? Surely it can't. Governments therefore, which utilize tactics of oppression including the systematic elimination of whole modes of investigation and systems of thought represent more than just an expression of the less desirable side of human nature, they suggest also an inherent potential for the complete denial of the value of human development and knowledge, and even perhaps a reversal in the evolution of human consciousness as it is manifest through achievements in higher learning.

TABLE 1

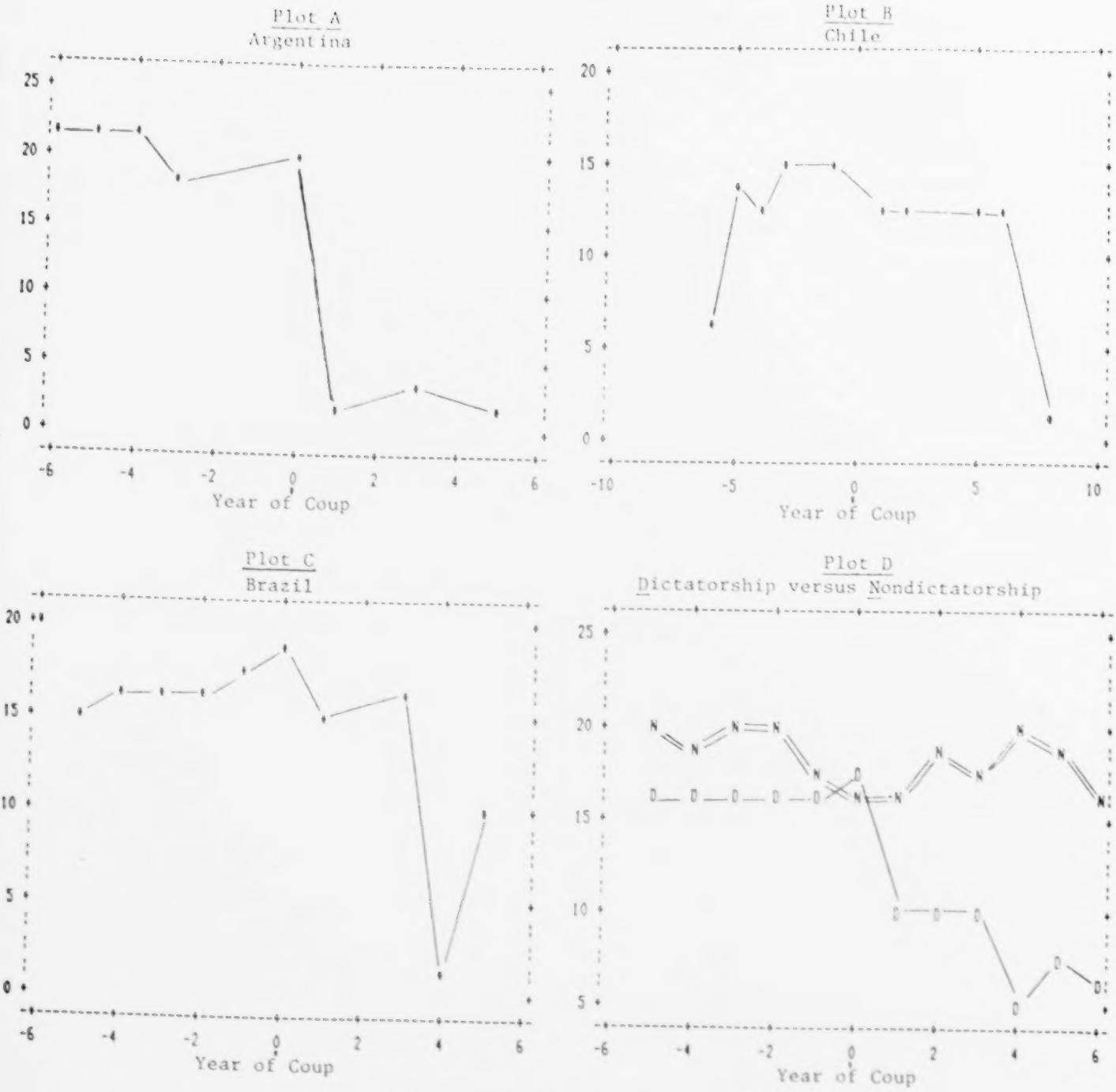

Table 1: For the above plots, the left-hand vertical column represents the percentage of students enrolled in the social science disciplines (sociology, anthropology, political science and economics). The numbers on the bottom horizontal column represent the years before and after the transition to military government, with year Zero being the year of the coup. Those years are; Argentina 1976, Chile 1973, and Brazil 1968 (see pages 18-20). Plot D compares the averages of Argentina, Chile and Brazil with the average for the two control countries, Mexico and Costa Rica.

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